



which must pass across the isthmus of Panama, and across the islands of the Caribbean Sea, and across the waters of the Gulf of Mexico, would easily close the question of expansion, for the Confederate States. In like manner, the question of the slave trade, to the use of which of which so much importance attaches to it, is the most earnest of the seceded States, may be considered definitely at an end, let this revolt terminate as it may. In like manner, the doctrine of secession in use in South Carolina, and which had so continually and comprehensively held itself as one of the principles inherent to be secured by the revolt, is steadily subverted by one of the earliest acts of the Confederate Congress, imposing a duty export—*a form of exacting commercial forbids by the Federal Constitution*. And the boasted career of individual wealth which followed in the wake of secession—in the first year of its existence it is generalized by the charity of the people of Illinois, sounding over free soil to the saving party of Mississippi; while if the war shall continue till the Confederate States conquer the United States, their first year of peace will exhibit the bravest patriotic deeds, perhaps, in the history of the world; but, in the mean time, the most burdensome taxation ever borne by an agricultural people, and a bankrupt as absolute as the golden dream of secession were preposterous. To make but one suggestion more, it would, perhaps, have been impossible for any madness less destructive than this secession war, to have seriously disturbed for a century to come, the near approach which the South was making to the most productive and extensive utopias ever possessed by any people in the products of the earth—in its growth, in the extent of its empire, and in its duration. At present, it is imminent in the period to which that boundless source of wealth has been brought, not only for a few months, but it may be for generations—that the armed intervention of the great maritime and manufacturing nations of the world, for the defense and protection of the colonies of the Confederate States, is amongst the desperate hopes to which their situation gives expectation.

Now it does appear to us that these statements reveal principles and facts of supreme significance, all pointing in the same direction, and challenging profound consideration. They appear to prove that secession, in its origin, its present condition, and its terrible future—is a blunder, a failure, a frightful and incalculable mistake, founded upon every sort of error and miscalculation. It is in this view of them that those teachings, which we have received from our schools, for our want of full knowledge, for our supposed prejudices or want of candor, enough remain to indicate, what we have so carelessly insisted on, that the complete restoration of the Union, is not only a glorious event within our reach—which it is the highest duty and interest, both of the nation and of the seceded States, to accept and act upon; but that the ordinary course of the immense and terrible affairs now passing before our eyes, leads, though it may bring trifling sufferings, towards that result. Would to God, it might have been in peace, and by reason and love, that the country had been saved! Thanks be to God, for a refuge to all parties, such as seems to us to be set before them all, when those alarms are overpassed! For the blood that is shed, and the crimes that are committed—let them who are responsible answer to them!

*The Border Slave States. Slavery in 1860. Sudden and rapid Revolution in Virginia. Fateful effects political and military. War between the South and the North. The Central S. W. Indians, Maryland, Mass. The original State. The State carved out of the South. The State Kastley's position, perh, temper, purpose.*

At the start, this movement was exclusively confined to the disciples of Mr. Calhoun—and they, having their chief seat in South Carolina, and schools rather than parties in the upper Slave States, did not hold the controlling power even in 1860, in one half of the Cotton States.

By degrees, the majority of the South became imbued with the idea of "secession," with the doctrine of free states, of the increase and extension of slavery, and of abolition, and the disruption of that party at Charleston and Baltimore, as far as the public were informed, was in the interest of these new ideas and of those old disciples of Mr. Calhoun. The parties in the fifteen slave States which supported Mr. Bell and Mr. Douglas for the Presidency in 1860 could, if they had wished, have carried nearly all those States, and, for the time, have put down secession.

If the White Convention at Baltimore had not nominated Gen. Houston instead of Mr. Bell, this result would probably have followed. It is in effect the want of ability or judgment of the leaders in the leaders of parties in the Slave States, to which a very large part of the present change of things is to be attributed. The conduct of the Democratic party had already, before 1860, acquired the predominance in all the slave States, and, when the secession party took up arms against the National Government, the political and military power of all those States was in the hands of that party.

4. The posture of Delaware and Maryland may be considered definitely settled, and, as to the result, essentially the same, in many respects, and that of Missouri is so analogous to that of Maryland, that we need not separate it from them. The few remarks it is necessary to make, are the few remarks that this committee has to make.

In the first place, the loyalty of the South, and the fidelity offered by the Southern people, to their country, which they are not repelled by fear of effectual ruin, has made, under that pretext, initiated a reign of terror.

The enormous predominance of the Democratic party, and the universal existence of the institution of slavery in all those States were the bonds of union amongst them all, whereby those who meditated revolution, expected and sought to carry them all for secession; the latter fact affording the secessionists the most powerful means of inflaming the passions of men, and the former fact providing the power to coerce them as could not be resisted.

In the second place, the Southern people, and the people of the slave States, afford the opportunity of creating a powerful agitation upon the extreme pro-slavery aspect of secession; and it was used with no little severity, and great diligence, to be loyal to the Union and to be an abolitionist have come to mean the same thing in the vocabulary of secessionists, and organized political families and religious bodies, which are not repelled by fear of effectual ruin, have made, under that pretext, initiated a reign of terror.

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